Although Feature 6 and Feature 5 cannot be directly compared in a discussion of turn-of-the-century domestic life in Wilmington, the fish market remains in Feature 6 provide a good comparison in terms of what was available in the market to contrast with the self-procured fish found in Feature 5. For instance, Feature 5 contained croakers and Feature 6 did not; yellow perch, found in Feature 6, was absent from Feature 5.

CONCLUSIONS

The Block 1191 project began with the intention to explore the relationships between socioeconomic status and material culture. The approach was to document, using tax assessments, city directories, and census records, the social and economic characteristics of the people associated with the artifacts excavated from the block. In this way socioeconomic status could be held constant, as a known factor, and artifact assemblages could be compared to show how material culture varies, or fails to vary, according to the socioeconomic status of a household, or how it varies from household to household despite similarites of socioeconomic status. The failure of the documentary evidence to mesh with the archaeological data prevented the original plan from being followed. Since all of the closed and dateable contexts were associated with tenants, rather than owner-occupiers, of the properties, very little documentary evidence existed for them. The absence of documentary controls over socioeconomic status, indeed the absence of any information at all concerning the people who used the artifacts, means that any statements made concerning their lives would have to be inferences from the artifacts alone.

The analyses conducted have already indicated some of the major lines along which archaeological data can stand alone in the absence of confirmatory documentation such as dating of archaeological deposits and analysis of links between socio-economic status and material culture. In addition, three new directions for research in Wilmington, and other cities, have been developed directly as a consequence of investigations on Block 1191. These new areas of research are archaeological evidence of diseases, investigations into the lives of slaves and free blacks in Wilmington, and studies of diet and food consumption.

For all of the privy features excavated on Block 1191, soil samples were collected an anlayzed for the presence of intestinal parasites and bacteria. In several cases the soils in the features produced evidence of worms, nematodes, and colloforms. The analysis of these remains is presently being conducted by two microbiologists at the University of Delaware, Dr. Cara Fries and Dr. Diane Herson.

Documentary records of the diseases in historic Wilmington are available. One source of particular value is the 1803 medical journal of Dr. John Vaughan, a Wilmington physician (Ivey 1971). Vaughan noted the geographical location of Wilmington, its weather, and the types of illnesses present at varying times of the year throughout the town. He mentions several intestinal viruses, as well as typhus, scarlet fever, and cholera.

The archaeological evidence recovered from the features revealed several different species of parasites. One in particular is associated only with sheep, another only with cats. Faunal remains recovered from the features support the presence of these mammals at the site. A third type of parasite, found in only one of the features (Feature 14), is associated with children. The disease-causing human intestinal parasites produce endemic, chronic conditions, often without acute symptoms. Unless the diseases become acute, the conditions would seldom have been causes for medical treatment. Thus, the only evidence for the presence and prevalence of these diseases in a population comes from archaeological excavations. In addition, the presence of the ova in features confirms their designation as privies, since the only way for the ova to get there is through the human intestinal system. A more detailed analysis of the microbiological research conducted with the Block 1191 privy soils is in preparation.

Research on parasites from archaeological excavations is at present not widespread, at least in North America. Recent work in Newport, Rhode Island (Reinhard 1985), has addressed the topic, but this field of study and its implications for historical archaeology are as yet unexplored. Documentary sources, such as newspapers and additional medical records, are available to provide some of the data needed concerning the diet and diseases of Wilmingtonians. This information can then be combined with data derived from privy excavations for a more complete view of overall health in antebellum Wilmington.

A ceramic type identified as Colono-ware was recovered from the backyard midden areas and six features in Lot 10A (Plate 35). The Colono-ware fragments that came from two of the barrel features were associated with Euro-American ceramic assemblages with mean ceramic dates of 1797 and 1799. In addition, Colono-ware fragments were also recovered from Lot 8B and from an earlier privy excavation at the Thomas Mendenhall site across French Street from Block 1191 (Herman 1984) (Plate 36). This is the first known occurence of Colono-ware this far north. Appendix VIII presents the type descriptions and drawings of the Wilmington Colono-ware.

Based on paste and temper characteristics, a minimum of four varieties of Colono-ware were found. These were a fine-grained sand-tempered ware, a medium-grained paste lacking temper, a coarser-grained, sand-tempered paste, and a very fine-grained untempered ware. The surface of this last variety is burnished;

PLATE 35

Colono Ware Recovered From Block 1191

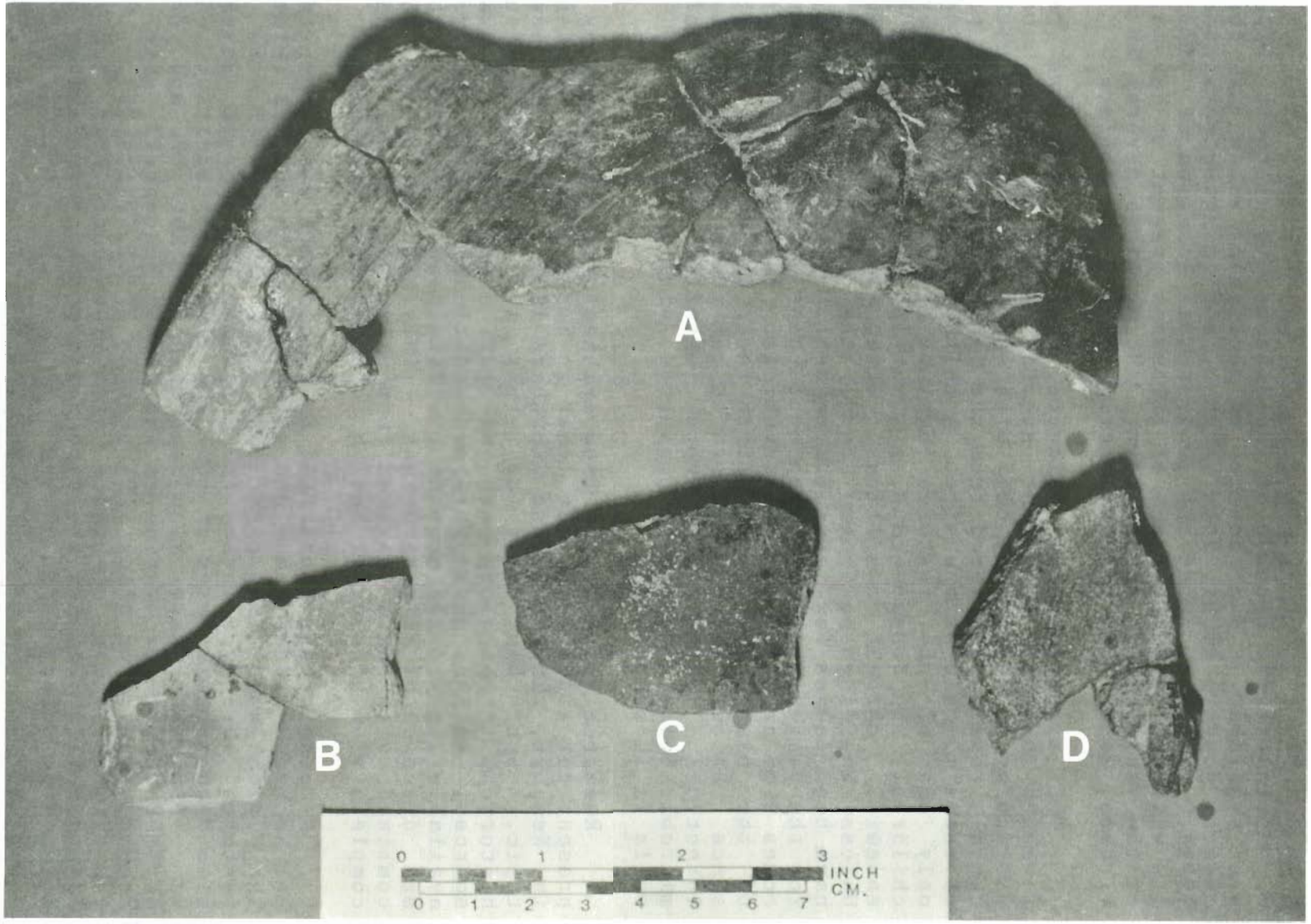

PLATE 36
Colono Ware Vessel
Recovered From Mendenhall Privy, Block 1194

the other varieties range from smooth to rough, and are unslipped and unpolished. Color varies for all of the types from brown, to buff, to orange, to red, to black. Only one vessel, a globular form, could be partially reconstructed. This form is very similar to the nearly complete vessel recovered from the Mendenhall privy.

The presence of Colono-ware on at least three sites in the city, and the generally accepted belief that the ceramic is in part produced or utilized by Afro-Americans (Ferguson 1980) suggests that the Afro-American population of Wilmington, both slaves and free blacks, should be studied in more detail. At present, little research has been done on the subject. In regards to the topic of slavery, previous investigations have usually dismissed Wilmington as a "Quaker City" where slavery was almost non-existent (Hoffecker 1974:14; Klein and Garrow 1984).

Wilmington's slave population was never large, but it did exist. The city's 18th century slave community is difficult to define, but Wilmington's trading relationships with the West Indies makes those islands a probable source of slaves for the town. By 1762, slaves were also being transported directly to Wilmington from West Africa (Pennsylvania Gazette,May 6, 1762).

Elizabeth Montgomery (1851) writes in her memoirs that, about the year 1761, a vessel "with the decks full of negro slaves from Africa" anchored at the lower wharf in the Christiana, and that gangs of twenty to thirty were driven through the streets. Her father, she added, though a Quaker, purchased one.

This large volume of trade through Wilmington was the result of an import tax placed on slaves by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1761 (Homsey 1979:35). Wilmington's close social and economic ties with Philadelphia, and the Borough's geographic location, thus made it the most convenient place, regardless of the Quakers, in which to import and sell slaves.

By 1790, there were perhaps ninety to one hundred slaves in the Borough. Wilmington's slave population dropped steadily throughout the 19th century, from 121 in 1800, to one in 1840, and none by 1850. The majority of slave owners in the city--twenty-seven--had only one or two slaves (61%); only three (7%) held six or more.

Sources for the Colono-ware in Wilmington could be one or more of several regions: the West Indies and/or West Africa, from the West Indies by way of South Carolina, or perhaps from South Carolina alone. The Mendenhall globular vessel form is very similar to those recovered from archaeological sites in South Carolina (Leland Ferguson 1985, personal communication), and similarities between South Carolinian and West African forms have been noted by several archaeologists (Fairbanks 1984:10; Ferguson 1980). Wilmington's connection with the West Indies has

already been stated. Virginia as a source should also not be ruled out; however, the Colono-ware vessel form from this region differs from the forms found in the Carolinas, and therefore in Wilmington.

It is probably the technique of production, and not the ceramic itself, that is being transported from one region to another. Thus the origin of the slaves themselves is the important factor in determining how the Colono-ware reached Wilmington, and from where.

The possibility that free blacks were the producers of the Colono-ware should also be considered. There is comparatively more documentary material available for the study of Wilmington's free Afro-American community then for its slaves, but it too, until recently, has been neglected. The majority of the free blacks in Wilmington were former slaves that had migrated from rural areas to the city, where economic and social opportunities were apparently greater. By 1850, these transitory blacks in Wilmington were overwhelmingly Delaware born (81%), with smaller numbers originating in Maryland (14%), Pennsylvania (3%), and New Jersey, New York, Washington D.C., Virginia, the West Indies, and Barbados (2%). Elizabeth Homsey (1979:47) has found that by 1830, New Castle County's free black population topped that of neighboring Kent County, which in 1790 had contained over 66% of the state's total free Afro-American population. That same year Wilmington's free black population exceeded one-fifth of the city's total population. After that time, despite a growing number of blacks in Wilmington, the massive influx of new European immigrants served to reduce the percentage of free blacks to about one-tenth of the city's total population by 1860.

More work is needed in the study of the slave and free black communities of antebellum Wilmington before a clear interpretation of their cultural and social interactions, and material remains can be established. Documentary resources are available, though they are of a fragmentary nature and thus of limited value. Excavations at sites of known black and/or slave occupation should be undertaken, and comparisons with other urban black excavations, such as those recently conducted in Boston (Bower 1984), should be made. The Colono-ware found on Block 1191 has the ability to serve as a catalyst for investigation into the Afro-American presence in Wilmington and in other locations, both urban and rural.

The study of historic diet and food consumption habits is another avenue of research toward which archaeology can make direct contributions. The faunal material from the various privy contexts in Block 1191 provide interesting contrasts with one another. Some indicate diets based on foods purchased at markets (for example, in Features 11 and 14) while others show evidence of fishing as a subsistence activity (for example, Features 33

and 5). The continuation of these direct subsistence activities from the early to the late nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, brings new light to bear on lifeways in a time when complete dependence on a market system should have been present. Similar trends have been noted in other analyses of faunal remains from Wilmington sites (Cunningham, et al. 1984), and comparably dated rural sites of Northern Delaware (Coleman et al. 1984, 1985). It is unfortunate that the Wilmington faunal assemblages cannot be directly related to individual families as can be the rural assemblages in order to ascertain the links among diet, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. However, it can be noted that in general the urban assemblages show a higher degree of variability compared to the rural, which may be related to the greater demographic and socioeconomic variability of urban settings, or to the greater variability of food resources available in urban market economies. Also, husbandry, other than limited raising of fowl and pigs (Cunningham et al. 1984), does not seem to be a viable alternative to market economies in the urban environment of Wilmington. Nonetheless, subsistence hunting and fishing may have played this role and provided an alternative. In contrast, some local rural populations were consuming stewing portions of home-raised cattle and sheep as an alternative to store-bought meat cuts and selling roasts, chops, and steaks through the market system (Coleman et al. 1984). The differences in food procurement options and strategies in various settings are only now coming to light. Through systematic collection of faunal assemblages, such as the Block 1191 Project, from varied cultural contexts, a comparative data base can be developed for future study.

In summary, although the original plan for studying socioeconomic status in Wilmington could not be carried out, the research has contributed to the development of new directions for archaeological investigations in Wilmington. There is abundant evidence, both artifacts and faunal remains, for the study of households' adaptations to Wilmington's urban environment. The continuation of direct subsistence activities into the twentieth century, brings new light to bear on lifeways in a time when complete dependence on a market system might be assumed to be developing. Direct evidence of household composition, something very difficult to assess from documentary records for tenant families, can be obtained with success from the especially well-preserving environments of the privies. And finally, new directions for research based on finds from Block 1191--the parasites and the Colono-ware--have generated new, and continuing, research projects directly dependent on archaeological data.